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to other folk music but

POPLICOLA's  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO  
C A T O's  
LETTER,  
CONCERNING  
POPULARITY.

---

*Boni vinci satius est, quam malum more injuriam  
vincere.* Salust.

---

Numb. I.

---

L O N D O N:

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ПРИМЕРЫ

от

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СТАВРУП

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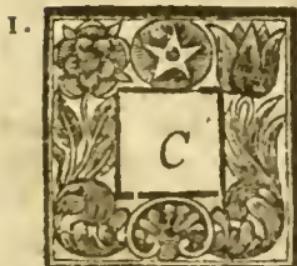
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POPLICOLA's



POPLICOLA's  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO  
CATO's LETTER,  
Concerning POPULARITY.



1. *CATO* has been so much in the right in some things, 'tis pity he should be in the wrong in any. The Service he has done his Country requires our thanks, his Errors our *Compassion*, whether they proceed from the Head or Heart, but chiefly if they are wilful. To see a noble Mind contending with Malice and ill Fortune, and unshaken by them, is a glorious Sight. Good

B Men

Men detest the Occasion and Instruments of the Trial, but rejoice in the Victory, and emulate the Triumph, and never think him ruin'd, who preserves his Honour. Whereas the *Prosperity of Fools destroys them*, and the more the *way of the wicked prospers*, they become so much the more the Objects of Indignation and Contempt.

2. *CAT O*'s Merits in asserting the Cause of an injured People, and pursuing the Betrayers of their Country, were so gratefully acknowledg'd, that we grew blind to his Mistakes. To set us right, he condescended to copy Mr. *Hobbes*'s monstrous Draught of humane Nature ; whose Pride dispos'd him to draw his own Picture for that of Mankind. *Spinoza*'s Scheme of Religion, and some odd Notions of Government; were also reviv'd, tho' they have been often and unanswerably refuted, and are contrary to its very Nature and Essence. And least all this should fail, he is so weary of being admired, as to tell his Readers, that *Popularity* is a Cheat, impos'd by Knaves upon Fools ; the Price the People pay the Impostor for deceiving them, to teach us to scorn Applause, when conscious of not deserving it ; and to distinguish good Sense from the Prejudices of a Partizan.

3. THERE are few, very few Writers to be swallowed in the gross ; none besides the sacred Penmen, that are not capable of deceiving, and being deceived. And there are few Readers, especially the weekly Students in our numerous political Academies, who will be at the Pains to examine : For which Reason, *no Popularity* is of worse Consequence than that of

of a weekly Writer: His very Merit is pernicious, for the greater Service he has done to Truth and Virtue in some particulars, he is so much the more capable of betraying them in others. I leave the Reader to apply this, and make no Question, but *Cato* is too much a Friend to Liberty, to impose his Sense on his Countrymen, or be offended, that they take the same Freedom that he assumes, in abounding in their own.

4. WE must of necessity be *ignorant*, infinitely so, because our Understandings are finite; but we need not embrace *Errors* unless we please. This is done voluntarily, by judging beyond our Evidence, by suffering Passion, Prejudice, and Interest, to hold the Scales, and clap a wrong Bias upon the Mind. *Cato* himself is not clear in this Matter; in certain Cases he labours under some violent and fundamental Prejudices, sufficient to destroy all the good he might otherwise do. And if he is in Sincerity, as he professeth himself, a Lover of Truth and Liberty, he will not be displeas'd that he is shewn his Errors.

5. A M B I G U I T Y of Expression, tho' it passes for Wit, and has wonderfully succeeded among the Moderns, is one of the worst Faults in a serious Writer, as bringing a Blemish upon his Intellectuals, or his Morals, or else a heavy Imputation upon the Times he writes in. For there are but three Causes to be assign'd for it, which are as follows. The first Cause of Obscurity, is want of Understanding, or Expression. For he whose Notions are confused, cannot clear up the Matter to his Reader: And tho' his own Idea's should be clear, yet

unless he is a Master of Language, he will be at a Loss to convey them to others. The second Cause is want of Honesty; the Man's Business is to mislead and give wrong Representations, he wilfully abuses his Skill, mingles his Colours artfully to cast a false Light, and is either desirous to deceive, or else being deceiv'd himself, communicates, as much as he is able, the Infection to his Readers. A third Cause of Obscurity, is consistent both with the Understanding and Integrity of the Writer. The Love of Truth and Virtue surmount all other Considerations, his Heart is hot within him, he burns with a just and generous Indignation against the Wickedness of the Age, even tho' it be exalted in high Places: His noble Ardour is not to be restrain'd, but by a prudent Consideration how he may be capable of doing the greatest Good. He is forced to guard against villainous Informations, and to vail the Truth as he is able, from them who cannot bear its Light and Force, because their Deeds are evil. This was the Case in the infamous Reign of *Tiberius*, and other *Roman Tyrants*; and to this the Learned impute the affected Obscurity of the Writers of that Age. *Cato* has made such large Encomiums on the Happiness we enjoy under the present Government, that it must not be imagined he writes obscurely, thro' any Fear of Censure: *As yet*, says he, *in England we can speak bold Truths*, No. 101. *For in happy Times, a Man may judge without Awe, and speak without Danger.* Yet *Cato's Praises and Invec-tives have a double Handle*, we hear his Reader often applying what he design'd for his Enemies, to his Friends; and the Characters he drew

drew for his Friends, to his Enemies. Now to put the Saddle upon the right Horse, and to give every Man the Cap that fits him, I know no better way than to follow an excellent Rule that *Cato* gives us, *viz.* "That we must not judge of one another by their fair Pretensions, and best Actions, since the worst Men do some good, and ALL MEN MAKE FINE PROFESSIONS, but we must judge of Men by the whole of their Conduct, and the Effects of it." Again, "Thorough Honesty, says he, requires great and long Proof, since many a Man, long thought honest, has at length prov'd a Knave, and it is from judging without Proof, or too little, or false Proof," [he best knows what *false Proof* is,] "that Mankind continue unhappy." By this Rule then, let Popularity be try'd; by it let us examine, whether the popular Man deserves the *Affection* he possesses. For *Fondness* is a Fault, in that it is an excessive, or misplac'd Affection; the Price the People pay their Chiefs for deceiving and selling them.

6. POPULARITY may in general be defin'd, the *Affection* and *Applause* that the People bestow on one whom in their Opinion deserves well of them. And if he obtains it reputably, possesses it on just Grounds, and enjoys it on good Terms, as it is a Pleasure to a benevolent Mind, so it is a Blessing in a generous Hand, to be improv'd to the Advantage of the People, who bestow'd it. But where it is to be acquir'd and maintain'd, by deceiving Men with Words, or purchasing their Hearts with Bribes, or imposing on their good Nature and Credulity, by Lies, and specious

specious Pretences, a virtuous Man will not only be without, but he will even detest it.

7. THERE is then a just and useful Popularity, as well as an unreasonable and mischievous one; *Cato* does not deny it. The evil is in the Misapplication, in the Wickedness of him that courts it without Desert; and in the Folly of the People in bestowing it on their Enemy instead of their Friend. I agree with *Cato*, that the People, or a Number so called, have been too oft mistaken, and never more so than in our Memory; and yet if we enquire accurately, perhaps it will be found, that the People in the true Sense of the Word, have not been so often in the wrong as is imagin'd. For by the People I always understand, (as I am sure one ought) the whole Multitude of Subjects in general, in Contradistinction to the Governing Part. There are a sort of People indeed, in Camps, in Courts, and even in Senates, who have frequently taken upon them to dispose of all the rest to the highest Bidder; of which the *Roman History*, as well as others, affords many remarkable Instances, as we shall see presently. These, I'm afraid, are the Folks commonly meant in the popular Harangues, for the Liberties of the People: For mercenary Tongues and Pens will be always on their side, as being best able to reward them.

8. "THE People, says *Cato*, that is the People in my Sense, the *true People*, when "they are left to themselves, and their own "Understandings and Observations, will judge "of Men by their good and bad Actions, and "are capable of separating Vice from Virtue, "and the just from the unjust:" Agreed. Thus  
the

the People, the Multitude of the Inhabitants of Judea, were our blessed Saviour's constant Auditors; they brought him into Jerusalem in Triumph, singing *Hosannas to the King of Israel*. But when the Rulers conspired against him, when the *Sanhedrin* the chief Priests, and Elders, the Scribes and Pharisees had tamper'd with the People, some of them changed their Note into, *not this Man, but Barabbas*, tho' *Barabbas* was a Robber. A woeful Choice! which probable, was not made by the generality of the People, who were at that time, too numerous to be contain'd in the Judgment-Hall, or to hear what *Pilate* said, but by the few that crowded about him, a Faction, artfully gathered together, (see *Matt. xxvii. 17.*) *Myrmidons*, whom the Rulers kept in pay to execute their wicked Orders, (see *St. John xviii. 3.* *St. Luke xxii. 53.*) Indeed, a People may be said to give Consent to Wickedness by their Silence, and when they neglect to use all honest means in their Power to prevent it. And thus it was, that the *Prince of Peace* suffered as a seditious Person and a Rebel against *Cæsar*, whilst he that was unquestionably a seditious Wretch and a Murderer, was prefer'd by the Interest and Votes of the *Sanhedrin*.

9. THE Uproar rais'd by *Demetrius* and the *Craftsmen*, was quickly laid; one reasonable Word dispers'd the People, and discovered the Artifice of the Ringleaders. The *Craftsmen* in all Ages do, and will contend for their *Diana*, against the brightest Truth and clearest Innocence. The Goddess they worship, being no other than the *Craft* by which they get their *Wealth*. They are generally of a Rank above

the

the Mob, who are only the Tools of *their* Avarice and Ambition: But their Risings and Uproars have always been in Opposition to Christianity, even when the loudest Cry has been raised for Religion. G O D forgive them that are yet to receive their Doom, who dis- honoured the best Religion, by pretending to preserve it by Methods only suitable to the worst.

10. T H E R E were one or two Uproars besides this of *Demetrius*, rais'd against St. Paul and his Fellow Preachers, on the same Account by them who saw the *Hope of their Gain was gone*, thro' the prevailing Excellency of the Gospel, which *Cato* does not take notice of. One was at *Theffalonica*, where the *Unbelievers moved with Envy*, took unto them certain lewd Fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a Company, troubling the Rulers of the City, by crying, *These that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also*. If any Man has applyed the same Words to their Successors, it must needs be to their Honour, in comparing them to their glorious Predecessors.

11. A N D here I cannot but take notice of a vulgar Mistake, in supposing *Tiberius*, *Clau- dius*, and *Nero*, under whose Reign the SON of G O D, and his Disciples, preach'd and suf- fered for the Gospel, were Usurpers. 'Tis plain from *Tacitus*, that *Tiberius* refused the Empire, saying, among other things to the Senate, " That in a City which abounded with " the choice of great and able Persons, all things " ought not to be intrusted to the Management " of one, and that he found himself incapable " of governing the Empire." Whether this was

was Dissimulation and Grimace, is another Question; but it is none, "That the Consuls, " Senators, and Knights, endeavoured to out- " strip each other in the Race to Servitude, " the Senate still descending to the most abject Sup- " plications, 'till *Tiberius*, tir'd with the general " Complaints and Murmuring, and the Re- " monstrances of each Man in particular, de- " clar'd, that he would accept the Empire, " but only, as he said, to put an end to their " Requests, and his Refusals." Now I would fain know, who had a better Title than *Tiberius*, thus chosen, as he affected to be by the Commonwealth? For tho' Men cannot give away what is not theirs, tho' they cannot dispose of another Man's Right, they can doubtless of their own. No Man contested the Title of the Roman Emperors, or put in a better Claim, and the Senate and People had given up theirs. Why then was not *Tiberius*, and those who succeeded on the same Foundation, lawful Powers; and the Obedience the Christians paid them by the Command of our Lord and his Apostles, rendred to them as such, and not merely on Account of Possession? Should the Republick of *Poland* intail the Crown in the Line of King *Augustus*, who has Right to dispute it? But should the Regent of *France* depose the present King and his Race, the Case would be very different. It is the Constitution of a Nation, that determines in what Hands the Sovereign and Rightful Power resides.

12. I do not pretend that *Tiberius* was sincere in his Refusals of the Empire: *Mamercus Scaurus* gave him a good Reason why no Body could suppose it. For what is more ridiculous

than to suppose a Man in Power at the Head of his Troops, can be forc'd to accept a Crown, especially, since it is notorious he brigued for it, and would not be content without it ? We say Opportunity makes the Thief ; it may be so, but did not the Thief make, or at least, does he not wait for this very Opportunity ? *Tiberius* liv'd in a proper Season, " the Times being so corrupted with Flattery, that the best Men were forc'd to it for their own Safety ; all, even the Consular Men, most of the Pretors, besides the mercenary Senate, strove who should propound the basest things, and such as were destructive to Liberty, " so that *Tiberius* had Reason to say, as he us'd to do every time he went out of the Senate, in an exotic Language, *O how ready these Men are for Slavery.*

13. I heartily wish we could as easily clear the modern, as we can the Primitive Christians from having any hand in Sedition and Rebellion. But alas ! there are too many flagrant Instances, both in those who pretend to be the *only Catholicks*, and those who call themselves the *best Protestants*, as may be seen in Mr. Foulis's two excellent Histories of the *Treasons and Usurpations of the Church of Rome*, and of our pretended *Saints*. You will find there a Parallel between the *holy League* (so call'd) in *France*, and the *solemn League and Covenant* in *Scotland*, copied from it, by them who made their Fears of Popery the Reason of their covenanting against their gracious and lawful Sovereign, who died a *Martyr* for the Truth. To these Leagues or Associations, were owing the unspeakable Miseries brought upon *Great Britain and France* ; and it cannot be deny'd that the *French Hugonets*, as well as our *Presbyterians*,

terians, were in a great Measure the principal Cause. *Poitrot* the Hugonet, setting the vile Example of Assassination upon the Person of *Francis Duke of Guise*, whom he basely murder'd, *pushed by a false and detestable Zeal for Religion*, as he confess'd; and as was generally supposed, at the Instigation of Admiral *Coligny*; on whom, and on the Hugonets for his sake, *Henry*, Son of *Francis*, took ample Vengeance in the barbarous *Parisian Massacre*. This *Henry* was the Idol of that wicked League, which was form'd *Ann. Dom. 1576*; of which, says *Mezeray*, "the zealous Catholicks were the Instruments, the Hugonets the Paranymphs, and Trumpeters, and the Grandees of the Kingdom the Authors and Heads." And if we may believe that Author, *Francis*, who was murdered in 1563, "was one of the most generous Princes of his time, and the best Head in Christendom, endow'd with all heroic Virtues, almost without a Vice, whether considered as a Prince or a Courtier:" By which we find, that *Cato* is sometimes mistaken in his Characters of the Dead, tho' *post mortem cessat Invidiam*, how much more of the Living.

14. AS Monarchy was the first Government in the World, they that will not believe *Moses*, let them take *Salust* and *Justin's* Word for it; so Kings were then the most popular Men, as being the greatest Benefactors. These Founders of Empire were not only reverenc'd and obey'd whilst living, but even ador'd when dead. Death, which puts an end to the Terror of Power, cou'd not extinguish the Memory of the Blessings their Government had confer'd upon a grateful People: For they were not mere Phantoms

toms of Royalty, Kings in Name, but not in Deed. Their Sovereignty appear'd in the Justice of their Laws, and Wisdom of their Institutions; in their exemplary Piety towards G O D, and Beneficence towards Mankind; in their Vigilance and unwearied Application to the Duties of their high Calling, defending the People from domestick Rapine, as well as foreign Injuries; and encouraging Ingenuity and honest Industry, protecting every one in the Enjoyment of his Property, and requiring no more of it for publick Uses, than was plainly necessary for publick Service; making no Distinction amongst their Subjects, but between the Virtuous and the Vicious; rewarding Virtue, tho' in an Enemy, and punishing Vice, tho' in a Friend.

15. BY these, and such like noble Arts were Empires founded; by these, and these only can they be restored and maintained. Stratagems and Tricks, tho' they may serve a little as Palliatives, do but increase the Disease, and render the Case desperate; for Cunning is but an ugly Patch to hide the want of true Wisdom. The Statesman that uses honest Policies, will find his Account in them, even as to Success: But if he fails in this, thro' the Iniquity of the Times, his Conscience is an inaccessible Fortress that sets him out of the reach of his Enemy's Malice: His very Fall is more desirable, more glorious, than their Promotion. He that labours in his Writings to form such Politicians, and to revive the good old *English* Spirit of Honour and Integrity, may he go on and prosper. But as to the Men that have sinister Views, who only mix Truth with Error, to make the latter pallatable,

ble, if I can do no other Service to my Country, I will at least endeavour to detect their Fraud, and set a Mark upon the Wolf in Sheep's cloathing.

16. A Hero, according to Sir William Temple's Account of him, is one who *deserves well of Mankind*, eminent for *Wisdom*, *Goodness*, and *Fortitude*. Such a Man will be esteemed, tho' Envy bursts its Gall. The only Mark then, by which we may discern, whether Popularity be just and reasonable, or groundless and hurtful, is to examine carefully the Actions of the popular Person, for by his Works you may know him. *Cato* and I agree in the Rule, tho' 'tis like we may differ in the Application. I do not deny, that *Misnomers* are used by ill Men, to colour their own Wickedness, and cast a Blemish on the Virtue of their Opposers, and they have often succeeded. But these Sophisters are always baffled by *Goodman Fact*; his Evidence destroys their Artifices, and leaves them without Reply. If the People cannot argue, yet they can feel the Load that breaks their Backs, tho' the most applauded Orator should endeavour to persuade them, that they carry no Burden, but that it is necessary to lay one upon their Shoulders to give them ease. They see who Rises by their Fall, who revels in Luxury at their cost, who sprung from the Dunghil to insult and Lord it over them. As dull as they are, they do not fail to distinguish between him who spends a great Estate in the publick Service, and him who gets one. They pay a Veneration to the worthy Descendant of an antient Race, which they do not think due to the new Men, *sine gente*, who were t'other Day no better than themselves.

All

All this they do without being taught; 'tis Nature in them, and will prevail.

17. POPULARITY owing to strong Liquor, ends with the Barrel; Money influences no further than the Circle in which it falls; and not always there, for if Fame may be credited, some Rioters, at a great Expence, have rais'd a Mob that has heartily detested and despised them. *False Terrors* have indeed been too prevalent, but the *Panic* wears off: And when the People's Eyes are opened, and they discern how grossly they were impos'd upon, the Machine is spoilt, it can no more be play'd upon them. And this it's like may be the Reason, why Popularity is now so much decried by the Men, who once set up for the greatest Friends and Favourites of the People.

18. THERE was a Time, not many Centuries ago, when the People liv'd in Peace and Plenty, every one securely injoying the Fruits of his Industry, and the Nation was in so flourishing a Condition, as to be the Envy of all its Neighbours; yet Men were almost distracted with Fears for the Publick, and deafened with the Noise about Liberty and Property: But a few Years, and the Event has shewn, that the Men who rais'd the Cry, were themselves the only People for whom they were concerned, and for whose dear sake alone all the pother was made. The credulous Multitude was no otherwise their care, than to work it to compass their private Designs, and to empty the Riches that circulated thro' the Nation, into their own Coffers. The dead and living Instances of this Management, are a too flagrant Proof; and such as opened the Eyes of the deluded People, who

who have been tumultuous and seditious, and quite out of favour ever since. They whose Voice was once *the Voice of GOD*, fell of a sudden so low, as not to retain so much common Sense, as to be able to distinguish between the Shadow and the Substance, the Hand that beat, and that which fed them, nor to feel the Burden under which they sunk. 'Till new Occasions offering, new Managers arose, or some Understrappers to the old ones, whose Dexterity having distanc'd them in former Markets, they now face about to cajole the People, in hopes to glean the small Remainder the former Caterpillars were not able to devour.

19. BUT tho' one has as mean an Opinion of the present Age, as of any that preceded. I am apt to think, to hope at least, that there be some few generous Spirits, that would not do a wrong thing to gain, or to secure the People's Affections; would not humour them to their hurt, nor plume themselves and their Fellows with the Spoils of the Publick. Such as these, whenever they are found, both may and ought to be Popular. It is for the common Good, the Interest of the Government as well as of the Subjects, that they should be distinguish'd according to their Merits, with the Love both of the Prince and People. When a General hazards his Person, and sheds his Blood among his Fellow Soldiers, they will love him; especially if his Table and Purse be as open to them as his Heart. Thus the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Idol of his Army, was not so much beloved for his Successes and Victories, as for his Humanity, and personal Bravery. But if a General, forgetful of himself, bestows his Care and Money upon his Fellow-

low-Prisoners, he must needs be Popular, and very justly to lead an Army safely thro' powerful Enemies and treacherous Allies, shews *Conduct* as well as Courage. Such an Army cannot without the utmost Ingratitude forget the Action, or cease to love the Benefactor. Thus the noble Retreat of *Xenophon* was one of the greatest Instances of military Glory among the *Greeks*, and deserv'd Popularity. Tho' afterwards his ungrateful Cotemporaries, envious of his Merit, accus'd and banish'd him. I confess it is no little Fault in Military Discipline, not to punish *Plunderers* with just severity. In this particular, *Good Nature* is a *Fault*, perhaps a *Crime*; Excess of Indulgence to the unworthy, being a Differ-  
ence to a Man's *self*, his *Family*, and the *Publick*. But let not those Ingrates accuse that Clemency to which they owe their Lives, as well as their Fortunes. Had there been as much Justice done at Port St. *Mary*, as there was Treasure taken at *Vigo*, and honestly preserved at least as to the General, for the publick Service, the Expedition had been in every respect glorious: And that ~~the Memory of that and some other English~~ Triumphs may not be forgotten, I shall revive the Memory of that and some others in an *Appen-  
dix*.

20. P. *VALERIUS* was deservedly a *Pop-  
ular* Man, and for that Reason called *Poplicola*. He escaped better than the *Gracchi*, happening to live in better Times, before the *Romans* were corrupted with Luxury and Avarice; *Plutarch* thinks him too *excessive* in his *Punishment* of *Ty-  
ranny*, "for he made it lawful, without Accu-  
" sation, to take away any Man's Life that  
" aspir'd to a *Tyranny*, and acquitted the Exe-  
" cutioners

“ cutioner, if he could produce Evidences of the Crime.” And “ because it was possible that Power might prevent Judgment, ( and Usurpation become its own Security ) he therefore gave a Licence to any to prevent the Usurper.” But setting this aside, he made many other excellent Laws that will ever be valuable to Freemen. As, for the Relief of the *Citizens* by taking off their *Taxes*, and encouraging their *Labour*, *Liberty* of *Appeal* from a severe *Sentence*, allowing the *People* to chuse their *Questors*, or *Lords* of the *Treasury*, as judging it not expedient, that the *Sword* and the *Purse* should remain in one Hand, to the endangering of the *People*’s *Liberty*; and regulating the *Exchequer*. He also made it *Death* to *usurp* the *Magistracy*; punished *Disobedience* to the *Consuls*, and *Disloyalty*, not with *Loss* of *Life*, or *Limbs*, or *Liberty*, or so much as *Forfeiture* of *Estate*, but with the *Penalty* of *ten Oxen* and *two Sheep*; the *Price* of a *Sheep* being *ten Oboli*, of an *Ox* an hundred; the *Roman Obolus* being about a *Penny* *Farthing*. *Valerius* sold no *Places*, but gave every *Man* *Liberty* to sue for the highest. He kept the *Power* in his *Hands* no longer than ’till he had secured the *People*’s *Liberty*. So far from building sumptuous *Palaces* for himself at the *publick Cost*, that he was no sooner informed, that his fine *Velia* became an *Eye-sore* to his *Fellow-Citizens*, giving *Umbrage* in that it look’d like a *Fortification*, then he generously pull’d it down in a *Night*’s time. And after all his *Conquests*, and having been four times *Consul*, he died so poor as to be buried by *Contribution*. ( *Aur Victor.* )

21. *PHOCION*, a Man endow'd with all private as well as publick Virtues, was so far from humouring the People, that having once spoken to the general liking in a publick Assembly, he asked a Friend, *what foolish thing had escap'd him unawares to merit their Applause?* He fail'd not to oppose them whenever they were in the wrong, and was no less unable to give Bribes, than inexorable in receiving any; esteeming what was more than a Man could use to be altogether superfluous. Yet in his Absence, he was chosen *General* by common Suffrage five and forty times. How venerable was his Poverty, how reverenced by *Alexander the Great*? and so much the more, in that he could fasten none of his magnificent Presents on him! 'Tis true, he lost his Life in popular Fury, by the Stratagems and Tricks of those who could not compass their Designs, nor subvert the Government, but by his Ruin. But their Malice could not prevail over the Love he bare towards his ungrateful Country; the last Command he gave his Son, being to forget the ill Treatment his Father had received from the *Athenians*. So much sooner is an Injury forgiven by him that receives it, than by the Doers; who judging of others by the Narrowness of their own Minds, they continue their Hatred for no other Reason, but because they suppose their former Crimes too great to be pardoned. *Athens* was quickly sensible of the Loss of such an excellent Governor; their most shameful Fault towards him, becoming their heaviest Misfortune, as the *Eirographer* observes.

22. WHERE can be found a more amiable Character in all Antiquity, than *Plutarch* gives of the *Gracchi*? Those illustrious Brothers, whose Quality,

Quality, tho' as great as any in *Rome*, did not prevail with them so much as to connive at much less to share in the Rapine of their Fellow-Patricians. On the contrary, they strenuously espoused the Interest of the Oppressed and impoverish'd Commonality, shewing upon all Occasions, that the Service of their Country was their sole Ambition. *Tiberius* was censur'd and reproach'd at his return to *Rome*, for the *Peace* he had made with the *Numantines*; whereby he saved the Lives of 20000 *Romans*, besides a Multitude that followed the Camp. Well might the People flock about him, and own him theirs, and their *Relation's Preserver*. Never did any Laws, says my Author, of those *Tiberius Gracchus* first proposed, "appear more moderate and gentle, especially being enacted against so great Oppression and Avarice. For they even ordered Gratuities to those who quitted their unlawful Claims, and restored what they had usurped to the right Owners. But the Money'd Men, and Men of great Estates, were exasperated thro' Covetousness against the Law it self, and against the Law-giver, thro' Anger and Obstinacy." It was the Prevalency of this rich Faction, that forc'd *Tiberius* on extraordinary Measures; which he justifies with great Eloquence, in a Speech which I have put in the Appendix.

23. NEITHER of the *Gracchi* were forward to engage in a Civil War. My Author says of *Caius*, That "he avoided all manner of Revenge against them that aim'd at his Life, shewing himself as unactive in Sedition, as he was valiant against a *Foreign Euemy*." But the degenerated Senate form'd a Conspiracy against

two of the best of their own Order, who far excell'd all their Cotemporaries in Virtue and Honour. *Tiberius* was murdered unarm'd in the *Forum*, under specious Pretences indeed, but in Reality for no other Reason besides asserting the People's Rights, " the Conspiracy being fomented more " out of Aversion and Malice, which the rich " Man had to his Person, than for the Reasons " that they commonly pretended against him. Nor was their Rage satiated with the barbarous Murder, for they cruelly insulted his dead Body.

24. *CAIUS*, the other Brother, for the same Reason met with the like Fate, from the Consul *Opimius*, infamous for Extortion and Bribery: And " who being Consul, presum'd " to usurp the Power of a Dictator. Condemning without any Tryal, both *Caius* and *Fulvius*, who was a Consular Man, also 3000 Citizens, who were murdered with them, and even wrong'd *Licinia*, the Wife of *Caius*, of her Jointure.

25. 'T IS remarkable of *Caius*, that he was the only Man among all the Treasurers of the Army, who carried his own Money along with him. The rest stock'd themselves with Wine, and fill'd the empty Casks with the Riches and Spoils of the Provinces. Yet *Caius* had a Proclamation out against him; the Senate promising the Man that brought his Head it's weight in Gold. *Septimuleius*, one of *Opimius*'s Partizans meeting the Murderers, seiz'd the Head, and having dexterously pick'd out the Brains, and supply'd them with Lead, it weighed seventeen Pound, which he honestly claim'd, and his Friend the Consul as honestly procured him. This Consul

Consul *Opimius*, as if he had gloried and triumph'd in the Slaughter of so many Citizens, erects a Temple to *Concord*, in Memory of these brave Exploits ; which enraged the People to a great Degree, and they vented their Spleen by writing under the Inscription one Night,

*Folly and Discord, Concord's Temple built.*

26. M A N Y more Instances might be given of Men who merited the *Popularity* they enjoy'd, both Antient and Modern ; but I chuse to name a Lady, the *Boast of Rome*, whose *Beauty*, tho' it excell'd in its Season, was the least of her Perfections. She had taken care to beautify her Mind with lasting Ornaments, not common to her Sex, but not for that Reason less becoming.

C O R N E L I A, the Great *Cornelia*, saw the Desolation of her Family with a firm and undaunted Mind ; she felt it with the Tenderness of her Sex, supported by heroic Fortitude. That which was most sensible in her own Loss, was the Dishonour and Calamity it brought upon her Country. She made no poor Complaints, no mean Applications to the Men in Power, did nothing unbecoming her Race or her Alliance, but returned as much Honour to both, as she received from them. Oppression could not deprive her of what was dearest to her, *Virtue*. C O R N E L I A was deservedly *Popular* ; for the Benefits she generously conferr'd, and the Injuries she magnanimously suffered ; great without Haughtiness ; humble with Dignity, the Refuge of the Distressed, especially of those who depended on the *Gracchi*. Her House was the Place of Resort of all Persons of Merit and Distinction,

Distinction, Strangers as well as Natives. Foreign Princes acknowledg'd her Worth, and courted her Friendship ; even the most violent Enemies of her Name and Family, paid Homage to her Virtue. Nothing cou'd be more entertaining, says *Plutarch*, than the Relations she gave of the great *Scipio*, and the rest of her noble Ancestors, who had for Ages distinguish'd themselves in the Service of their Country ; nor any thing more surprizing, than the Greatness of her Mind in discoursing of the Sufferings of her dearest Relations, " without Fear, or Sign of Grief, " as if she had been relating the History of some " antient Heroes ; so much does a noble Birth " and good Education conquer any Affliction." And tho' *envious Fortune*, (in the Heathen Language of my Author, but in the Christian Style, *wicked Men*) " may often be successful and smo- " ther virtuous Actions, yet in the worst Cala- " mities it cannot bereave us of that Tranqui- " lity of Mind with which we generously bear " them.

27. I might also instance in our *British Queens*, who were indeed more *Popular* than any of our Kings, unlesis it be *Edward IV.* and *Charles II.* and *deserved to be* so, by the Prosperity and Glory to which they rais'd the Nation. But this will never be forgot by *English Men* ; their Memory will always be dear, and their Death lamented. To pass over therefore, what we cannot sufficiently celebrate, let us enquire how it happens, that the great Talkers for Liberty and publick Good, they who lavish their Intense upon the *Bruti*, take little Notice of the *Gracchi*, who upon Comparison will be found to be much the better Men, and truer Patriots ?

The

The *Bruti* acted upon a Principle of Revenge and Ambition, for the Interest of a few, and brought War and all its dreadful Consequences upon their Country. The *Gracchi*, out of the Benevolence and Justice of their Minds, endeavoured in a peaceable Manner, and by legal Methods, to wrest the Spoil out of the Jaws of the Oppressor ; to assert the Laws, to place Equity in the Throne, not themselves. The *Bruti* being only private Men, assaulted their Sovereign ; one of them banishing the King and all his Race, the other assassinating a Benefactor, who made no other use of his Power but to render the People, even his Enemies happy, The *Gracchi* were publick Persons, *Caius* was in Commission, and *Tiberius* a Tribune of the People ; an Office accounted sacred, and which obliged him to defend the People's Rights. They were slain in the very A&t of their Duty, in labouring to free their Country from the intollerable Yoke of many Tyrants ; and that without the spilling the Blood of the most lawless Oppressor.

28. THE Roman Government was by no means an *Aristocracy* ; it had indeed a great Mixture of that Form of Government, and so it had of *Monarchy*, the *Consuls* being annual Kings, and the *Dictators* for the time their Power lasted, *absolute Monarchs*. But yet for all this, the Roman State was chiefly and properly a *Democracy*, so far as this Form is practicable ; which it can hardly be, especially in a large Territory. And to this Confusion in their Form of Government, I am apt to ascribe all the Convulsions that happened in their Estate. That the Government was *Democratical*, and the People the supreme Power, ( if this is not

not a Contradiction in Terms Sovereign and Subject being Relatives) appears from the Form in which their Laws were enacted. *Senatus decrevit* *Populus jussit*; the Senate consult, the People command. The former prepare the Bill, but the Will of the People is the *Enacting Power* that gives it the Force of a *Law*. Accordingly the Crime of *High Treason* was not against the Senate, but against the *Majesty of the People*. The Speeches made to them in the *Rostra*, were address'd *Majestas vestra*; Treason is called *proditum imperium vestrum*, in *Salust* and elsewhere. How then can the *Gracchi* be called seditious, by serving and executing the Commission they received from their Sovereign? This is then their Crime with our modern Declamors: They oppos'd the Tyranny not of *one*, but of *many*, which is by much the more grievous. And for this Reason, they are not celebrated by those who have no Dislike to Tyranny, when themselves are the Tyrants.

29. I must confess publick Virtues, when unaccompanied with private, may reasonably be suspected of some sinister End, and should rather be called Publick Services, as not proceeding from an inward Principle of Virtue. For this renders a Man's Actions uniform; it is the *Vera vita*, as *Horace* calls it, that Consistence which gives the true Beauty and Glory to an honourable Life. But considering the Loosiness of the Age, the softning Names which are given to certain fashionable Vices, which are called even by some who ought to know and teach better, human Frailties, and excusable Weaknesses, tho' in truth they deserve another Name, and more severe Animadversion, I shall not be so

so strict as to deny, that there *may* be certain Persons adorn'd with Publick Virtues, and justly valuable for them, whose Private Conduct is fullied with some Blemishes, and not altogether justifiable. Alas! what would become of all our Patriots, and the greatest Sticklers for the Protestant Religion, were their Private, and even their Publick Actions, and the Tenor of their Lives to be weighed in the Balance of the Sanctuary? Wou'd not *Cato* and his Friends laugh among themselves at a Chaste Man of Quality, whatever may seem proper to be held forth to the Publick? Are Luxury and Intemperance counted Crimes? Are thiey not rather gloried in as Signs of a polite Education? Have not Cowardice and Infamy usurp'd the Name of Honour and Courage? For the Duellist is very ingeniously said to be a Coward to Men, and a Bravo to the Almighty.

30. *CATO* is too much an *Antient Roman*, to pay Regard to Christian Virtues, which are indeed heroic, but their Heroism is neither founded on the same Motives, nor express'd in the same Maaner, nor tends to the same End, with that of Heathen Heroes. The *CROSS* is the Christian's Glory, and Heaven his Reward. *If any Man will come after me*, says the great Author of our Religion, *let him deny himself daily, and take up his Cross and follow me*. These are the indispensable Duties of Christianity, and yet has not the Doctrine of the Cross, in all its Branches, been exploded and ridicul'd above these thirty Years by the Men of Wit and Power? It has been to some Foolishness, and to most a Stumbling-Block; as much despis'd in this religiou: Protestant Nation, as ever it was

E. formerly

formerly in Heathen Rome and Greece. And for the same Reason; for they that mind earthly things, will always be Enemies to the Cross of Christ. Their End, says the Apostle, is Destruction, <sup>their</sup> God is their Belly, and their Glory is in their Shame.

31. FAR be it from me to say one Word in excuse of the detestable Lewdness of the Age. It must be own'd, for it is indeed a sad Truth, that all Parties, however they may differ in other things, agree too much in violating the awful Laws of the King of Kings, tho' most reasonable in themselves, and calculated for human Happiness; only one sort of Men do it more modestly than the other. The Men of one Denomination acknowledge the Being and Authority of the Law-giver, and reverence his Ministers. The other dispute his Being, at least his Providence, scoff at his Commands, defy his Threatning, and spurn at his Rewards, as tremendous and infinite as they are, and treat his Ministers with the utmost Indignity. Whereas the former blush at their Offences, own their Guilt, and condemn themselves for it. And yet the Men who avow their Wickedness and Glory in their Crimes, are most forward to accuse their less guilty Neighbour, as the Pharisees of old; and I will answer them as our Lord did these, *him that is without sin among you, even that very sin you charge on others, let him cast the first Stone.*

32. IT is a true Observation, that they who do the Work of the Devil in tempting others, are like him the forwardest to reproach and accuse them. Happy is the Man that has never slipt, and next to this, happy is he that sees his

his Fault and forsakes it, the only Proof of true Repentance. One would think *two Attainers* should make a Man *reclus in Curia*, as two Negatives make an Affirmative. But it is no Surprise to hear the same Action applauded by some, and condemn'd by others, to find a Man almost ador'd in one Age, and detested in the next. Nor even to see the same Men, and Bodies of Men, approve and condemn the very same Principles and Actions, as change of Fortune determines them. We have too many Instances in our Statutes and Histories, as in the Reigns of *Edward* and *Richard the Second*, and whilst the Contention between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* subsisted; besides more modern ones, which may have occurred to every Man's Observation. *Quid placet aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?* Not that Truth and Justice change, they are *eterinal* and invariable. What was true or false, right or wrong Yesterday, is so to Day, and will be for ever. But Men will dispute the plainest Truths, vilify the best, and colour the worst Actions, so long as they are governed by their Passions, and determined by their Interests.

33. THIS appears, as in others, so in the *Roman Senate*, as it is admirably described by *Sallust*. *Jugurtha* not content with his Share of the Inheritance left him by *Micipsa*, treacherously assassinated one of the Sons of his Benefactor, and adoptive Father, and deprived the other of his Kingdom, and drove him into Exile. *Adherbal* flies to *Rome* for Succour; his Ancestors had been faithful Allies to the *Romans* in the *Carthaginian War*, where *Massinissa* performed considerable Service. Yet notwithstanding his

Merit, the Justice of his Grandson *Adherbal's* Cause, *Jugurtha's* Perfidiousness, Cruelty, and Oppression, the Bribes his Ambassadors distributed at *Rome* among the Senators by his Order, which was to purchase every *Man* that was to be sold at any rate, prevailed. Some for the Pensions they had received, others in hopes of the like, used their Credit in the Senate to carry so odious a Cause, suffering nothing to be concluded in prejudice of *Jugurtha*; who had learnt from the *Romans* themselves, whilst he was among them, that every thing at *Rome* was *Venal*. *Rome* omnia penalia esse Fautores — gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere & flagitio sui quasi pro gloria nitebantur. His Partizans maintain'd his Cause with all their Power, and were as warm in the Defence of his Crime, as if it had been their own Glory. The few who valued Justice as the most precious Treasure, stuck to *Adherbal*, and would have had his Brother *Hiempſal's* Murder severely vindicated.

34. " *ÆMILIUS Scaurus*, a Man of noble Birth, active, factious, greedy of Power, Honour and Riches, but cunning in concealing his Vices to preserve his Credit, knowing the Noise that this infamous and open Pursue of Votes made in the City, and fearing to injure his own Reputation, should it be thought that he had his Share in the Prostitution, suffered Ambition to bridle his Covetousness, and compremiz'd the Matter," so that somewhat was done for Fashion sake in Favour of the Oppressed. Ten Commissioners were appointed to divide the Dominions of *Micipsa* and determine *Adherbal*, and *Jugurtha's* Claims.

35. AMONGST

35. AMONGST these *L. Opimius* was a principal Person, a Man of Note, powerful in the Senate, who had made him their Instrument to oppres the People, and murder their De-senders, as you have seen in our Account of the *Gracchi*. He was an old Pensioner to *Jugurtha*, who did not fail to secure him anew by considerable Presents and Promises; so that *Opimius* prefer'd the Interest of that Prince to his own Honour and Faith. *Uit fame fides, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum Regis anteferret.* And as he used the same Address to the rest, he gained his Point, finding few to whom Integrity was dearer than Money, *Paucis carior fides, quam pecunia, fuit.* And thus encouraged, and in Confidence of the new Protestations of Friendship he had received from the Persons his Presents had corrupted, *Jugurtha* proceeded to more flagitious Actions, depending on his old Maxim, *Roma omnia venalia esse.* The Votes of the corrupted Party out-numbered the honest Senators, who were for ~~the~~ doing Justice to *Adherbal*, and maintaining the Honour of the Roman People; so that the publick Good as usual, was sacrificed to private Interest. *Ita bonum publicum, ut plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum.* One must transcribe great part of *Salust*, and of *Tacitus* also, to give a full Account of the Degeneracy and Infamy of the Roman Senate, which was debauch'd to such a Degree, as to retain little of the Virtue of their Ancestors. What has been said is sufficient to account not only for *Catiline's* Conspiracy, but for all that followed it; even to the abject Flatteries with which they courted *Tiberius* and *Nero*. Such Romans as these are not our Examples but Contempt.

tempt. Nor need we seek for Patterns of Virtue out of our own History. May we never lose the *Virtue*, and with it the *Liberty* derived to us from our worthy Ancestors, by the same Methods that corrupted *Rome*.

36. I know not whether the illustrious and truly great *Arthur Lord Capel* was a *Popular Man*, but sure I am he deserv'd to be so. His Life is to be imitated, and his Death envy'd. *M. Cato's* was not so truly *Nobile lethum*, a glorious Death, as *Horace* calls it, nor so proper to be celebrated by the finest Pens. Piety to GOD was the Foundation of his Loyalty and Probity, and on this Foundation they remain'd unshaken. Not the Rage of his Enemies, nor the Follies, Neglects, or Injuries of his Friends, cou'd move his noble Soul out of the Path of Honour. Nor did he walk lazily there; he was as vigorous and unwearied in doing good, as the Rebels were in doing mischief. He spent a great Estate in his Royal Master's Service, but as the King declared, *he sought nothing for himself*. There is not a nobler Strain of manly Eloquence to be found in the most celebrated Pieces of Antiquity, than in that Letter this heroic Lord wrote to the Tyrant *Oliver* a little before the Murder of the King, whose Life he sollicited to save at the Price of his own. The Tyrant wou'd not grant this Request, but did not refuse him the Crown of Martyrdom. For in a few Months after he lost his Head gloriously for a righteous Cause, for his King and for his Country. What Man of Honour wou'd not chuse to die with *Capel*, rather than reign with *Cromwell*?

*Dulce & decorum est pro patria mori.*

And

And if it be so honourable, so delightful to a Heathen to die for his Country, how much more <sup>transcendantly</sup><sup>^</sup> to a Christian who dies for his Conscience ?

*Vertus recludens immeritis mori  
Cælum —*

37. IT will not be loss of time, nor an unnecessary Digression, to observe with *Salust*, the Cause of the Degeneracy and Slavery of the *Romans*; the last being a natural and necessary Effect of the former. He reckons wrong who dates their Slavery from *Cæsar*, it commenced long before; the People being as much Slaves to the haughty Nobility and Senate, as ever they were to the *Roman* Emperors. So that *Julius* and *Augustus Cæsar*, instead of being reputed Usurpers, and Invaders of the Liberties of their Country, deserv'd the Glory of being its Restorers; and that Recompence the *Roman* Laws decreed to the Man that delivered his Country from Tyranny, since they suppress'd so many Tyrants. Let us hear *Salust*; *Caterum, mos partium Popularium, & senati factionem, &c. Bel. Jug. p. 106.* " Idleness and abundance, where- " in some place their chief Felicity, had of late " Years occasioned Divisions among the People, " and Factions in the Senate, and been the Source " of all our Evils. Before *Carthage* was destroyed, " the Publick Affairs were manag'd between the " Senate and the People, candidly and modestly, " without ambitious Contentions for Power and " Dominion. The Fear of Foreign Enemies " kept the Citizens in their Duty. This remo- " ved Intemperance and Pride broke in upon " them with Prosperity.. And the Ease they. " so

“ so much coveted in their Adversity, became  
 “ the severest and bitterest Affliction. The  
 “ Dignity of the Nobility, and the Liberty of  
 “ the People were chang'd into Licentiousness.  
 “ And whilst every one strove for the Mastery,  
 “ and every one snatch'd what he could for  
 “ himself; all was divided among the two  
 “ Parties, the Republick it self being torn in  
 “ pieces between them. The People were the  
 “ weakest, in that their Measures were uncon-  
 “ cerned, and their Strength dispersed. Whereas  
 “ the Nobility being united, became a power-  
 “ ful Faction. A few Great Men were Arbiters  
 “ of Peace and War; the Publick Revenues, Go-  
 “ vernments, Magistracy, and all Offices Civil  
 “ and Military, even Honours and Triumphs, be-  
 “ ing solely at their Disposal. With these the  
 “ Generals divided the Spoils, whilst the People  
 “ were reduc'd to the utmost Poverty\*. The very  
 “ Soldiers and their Families were drove from the Ha-  
 “ bitations, purchased with their Blood and Pay, to en-  
 “ large the Palaces of such Grandees as took a Fancy to  
 “ build in their Neighbourhood; or found their Lodg-  
 “ ings convenient for themselves and their Friends.  
 “ For Avarice and Ambition once let loose, in-  
 “ vade, pollute, and destroy all within their reach;  
 “ nothing, however sacred, escapes them. And  
 “ so long as there remain'd among the antient  
 “ Nobility, any who preferred true Glory to  
 “ unjust Power, *Rome* became a frightful Chaos,  
 “ the Theatre of Civil Dissentions.

58. B U T the true Patriots were soon de-  
 stroyed; and *Rome* left a Prey to the tyrannical  
 Faction.

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\* Interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque  
 potentiori confinis erit, sedibus pollebantur. Q. Is it so at  
 Chelsea?

Faction. These barter'd away the *Roman Honour* for *African Gold*, and the Plague of Avarice being spread every where, no wonder that the City it self was sold by Auction to the highest Bidder. Immense Wealth in the Hands of private Persons, who were but Subjects tho' they liv'd like Princes, was ever suspected in wise Governments. It was easy to guess what would follow, when *Cæsar* could afford to lay out 100,000 great Sesterces (that is above 500,000*l.* sterl.) upon the *Forum Julii*, whilst he was but *Pro-Consul of the Gauls*: And *Pompey* and other great Men were at prodigious Expences to care for the People. They bestowed their Money indeed in Publick Uses, it was not all squandered upon themselves in sumptuous Palaces, luxurious Tables, and flaring Equipage. And herein they shew'd how much they surpass'd those little Dealers in after Ages, who wanting their Abilities, imitate their Ambition.

39. *T H E Romans* thus ripe for Slavery, the only Question was, *Who should be Master?* *Catiline* try'd and fail'd, for which Reason he was doom'd a Traytor: For Treason is never successful; a Prosperous Attempt is always complimented with the finest Titles that Flattery can invent. *Pompey* perish'd in the Struggle with his Rival, and so became pittied and applauded. *Cæsar* carried the Prize, and for that Reason was envy'd and murdered by his Cotemporaries, and branded as a Tyrant by their Admirers. In the Judgment of *Salust*, *Marcus Cato* and *Cæsar*, were the greatest Men of their Age, and of equal Merit, tho' different Inclinations. The *Romans* had not Virtue enough to suffer *Cato*'s Reformation, and his Integrity could not bear with

their Corruptions ; *Cæsar's* Indulgence, Clemency, and Magnificence suited better with their Inclinations, and if he had not taken the Government, they must have submitted to one less deserving.

40. I cannot see why *Cato*, unless thro' Emulation, should abhor the Sight of *Cæsar*, after he had followed *Pompey* as the Defender of the Commonwealth. *Cæsar* was the least ambitious, and the more innocent of the two. For he was forced to arm in his own Defence, and proposed only to have no Superior, which was but equitable in a free State. Whereas *Pompey* would not endure an Equal, and thereby made himself Sovereign over all his Fellow-Citizens. Liberty was destroyed before the Battel of *Pharsalia*; *Cæsar* only gathered up the Remains of the shipwrack'd State, to form it anew with more Strength and Beauty. But Faction would not suffer him; the Senators became Assassines, and by that Butchery destroyed their Country a second time.

41. \* " F O R to say the Truth in a Word,  
 " the governing Men of those Times acted  
 " only on a Principle of Ambition, and under  
 " the specious Pretences of defending the Rights  
 " of the People, or the Authority of the Se-  
 " nate, and the Publick Good; had no other  
 " Aim but their Private Advantage. There  
 " was neither Modesty nor Moderation on ei-  
 " ther side; each in their turn abusing their  
 " Victory. And when the People's Cause de-  
 " clin'd, and the Authority fell into the Hands  
 " of

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\* *Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, Sc. Salust. in Bell. Catil. p. 32.*

“ of a few, they so dispos’d of all things, as  
“ to render themselves secure, by becoming  
“ terrible to all who durst oppose their Rapine,  
“ or disturb them in their Luxury.

42. IF the *Romans* had not been totally degenerated, and incapable of Liberty, had there remained among them one Spark of the Virtue and Glory of their Ancestors, what hinder’d them when *Tiberius* and his Favourite *Sejanus* confined themselves to *Caprea*, from asserting and recovering their antient Liberty? Cou’d they have a fairer Opportunity of delivering their Country from such Monsters? But instead of this the servile Knights and Senators, as well as lower People, flock’d after them, beseeching their Return, and by base Complaisance encreasing their Arrogance. All the Great Men of *Rome* shamefully prostrating themselves at the Minister’s Feet! “ Passing their Days and Nights  
“ in that little Island, or on the Coasts, endu-  
“ ring the Insolence of a Porter; or courting  
“ his Favour till they gain’d Admittance, or  
“ were discharged from further Attendance.  
“ Those whom he would not vouchsafe to  
“ hear, or see, returning home dejected. O-  
“ thers that were well received, fill’d with a  
“ false Joy, not foreseeing how fatal his Friend-  
“ ship would shortly prove.” All this while  
the Senate, careless of the Disgrace their Country suffered, and the Ruin of its Support, minded little else besides flattering their cruel Emperor and his Minion, decreeing an *Altar to Clemency*, and another to his Friendship with *Sejanus*.

43. AND so in *Nero’s* Reign, there was not any thing so vile that the Senate stuck at when

he decreed Murders and Banishments, they never fail'd to return thanks to their Gods; and when he kill'd his Wife *Ostavia*, they ordered Oblations and Thanksgivings in the Temple. " So that what was formerly an Evidence of " our Triumphs, says my Author, became now " the Mark of our Slavery and Misery.

44. THEY will find themselves in the wrong, who fancy that the People are governed by Laws in a Commonwealth, more than in a Monarchy, or less oppressed. The Men in Power, if they are wicked, govern arbitrarily in both, without Regard to Laws, which they interpret as they like. And with this Aggravation to the Misery of the People in a Commonwealth, that they are enslav'd by their Equals, whilst every Man in the Regency becomes a petty Tyrant. A few forward Men may hope to have their Turn; but the Body of the People must still be Slaves, still expos'd to the Avarice and Passion of every new Ruler, and pick'd to the very Bone. This Nation found it so under the *Commonwealth of England*, as a Nest of Traytors call'd themselves. Their Number gives Impunity, they tyrannize in the dark, for the Mischief done by *many*, is chargeable upon *none*.

45. THIS is the true Reason, why ambitious Men are so fond of Commonwealths. They were not born to a Crown, nor are able to usurp one, but in Senates they can King it in some Degree, can shew that Dexterity, and display that Eloquence which themselves are best acquainted with, and which is seldom used to any Body's Advantage but their own. This is the Port towards which their Zeal for Liberty rows, tho'

tho' it looks another way. For by *Liberty* they must mean (or else most of what they say about it is Nonsense) as *Salust* and other *Roman* and *Greek Authors* do, *Government in the Hands of M A N Y, and not in the Hands of O N E.* The Equivocalness of the Word *Liberty*, serving them for a Disguise and Evasion: "Never any Man, " (says *Tacitus*) design'd to rule, who did not "make use of the Pretence of LIBERTY." But wherein *Political Liberty* consists, I may have occasion to shew hereafter.

46. *TIBERIUS*, as vile a Tyrant as he was, affected so much Modesty and Moderation, as "to refuse the Title of *Father of his Country*, " which the *Romans* often desired to give him. "Nor would permit that they should take their "Oath upon his *Acts*." This was an Oath taken by the Magistrates every Year on the first of *January*, by which they swore to approve of every thing the Prince should do during his Reign. A glorious *Roman* Senate! to be so forward to banish the just and fitting *Liberty* that every Free-man should enjoy, and to be more forward than their very Tyrant, in binding themselves Hand and Foot under the Yoke of tyrannical Power!

47. OUR modern *Cato* in some of his Letters, as I remember, maintains, that the Happiness or Misery of a People depends upon their Laws and Constitution. I am of the contrary Opinion, and presume to affirm, that they do not so much depend upon the *Form*, as upon the *Persons* who govern. The very best Constitution may be so managed by ill Men, as to be the utter Destruction of a People; and a very bad Form of Government in the Hands of the Wise

Wise and Honest, has rais'd them to the Height of Felicity and Glory. *Cato* and I 'tis like may not agree as to the *best* and *worst* Form; but to take him in his own way, one cannot doubt that he looks upon arbitrary, despotic Monarchy, as the very worst Government that is, or can be. And we may suppose he gives the Palm to the *Roman Commonwealth* among the Antients, and to our own Constitution among the Modern, Monarchies at least, for I cannot answer what his Opinion may be concerning *Venice* and *Holland*, or the glorious Commonwealth of *San Marino*, and the powerful Republic of *Meldingen*, (to whom the Grand Monarch paid a Subsidy of twenty or thirty Pounds *per Annum*) so agreeably described by Mr. *Addison*.

48. C O U L D we come at any of those Original Contracts we have heard so much of, we might give the better Guess at the Wisdom of the Antients, in the *Limitations* they impos'd upon their Sovereign, and the Measures they took to have them punctually observed. But these are wanting, no Footsteps remain of them in History *sacred* or *prophane*. Here we read that Monarchy was the first Government in the World, and the Wisdom and Justice of the King the only Law. So that when a wise and good Prince rul'd, the People were great and happy; indeed more so than in any Commonwealth. And when a weak and wicked Ruler was over them, they were brought into Servitude and Misery: Yet not into more, nor indeed so much, as they suffer by the Contests in what is called a free State.

49. TO pass over the four great Monarchies which were rais'd to the height of Prosperity and Glory by the Virtue of their Kings, and tumbled down by the Wickedness and Folly of some of their Successors, let us step into a less beaten Path, with Sir *William Temple*, who will in this Case be allowed impartial. From this fine Writer we learn, that the Kingdom of *Peru* flourish'd eight hundred Years in the same Royal Line, the eminent Virtue of the first Hero seeming to be entail'd on the whole Race, and their Virtues imitated by all their Subjects. There were but few Laws, and not much need of any, every one being a Law unto himself: Their very Golden Mountains could not corrupt them; Gold which corrupts all the rest of Mankind. "No Government, says my Author, ever gave greater Testimonies of an excellent Institution by the Progresses and Successes both in the Propagation and Extent of Empire in Force and Plenty, in Greatness and Magnificence of all publick Works, and in all Provisions necessary to common Ease, Safety, and Utility of human Life." But all this Felicity was interrupted and destroyed by one vile Wretch, the Usurper and Tyrant *Atuhualpa*, who destroyed as many of the Royal Line as he could get into his Power, and became so odious to his Subjects, that the *Spaniards* made an easy Conquest of this mighty Empire.

50. THE *Roman* Commonwealth continued about four hundred and sixty Years, from the Expulsion of their King's to *Cesar's* Dictatorship. And in that time how many Changes did it suffer, from *Consuls* to *military Tribunes*, and back

back again to *Consuls*, then *Tribunes*, then *Consuls*, *Decemvirs*, *Dictators*, *Inter-Rex*, &c. But the Chinese Empire has endured some thousand Years, tho' it is as Sir William Temple informs us, " an " Absolute Monarchy, there being no other " Law but the King's Orders and Commands, " and likewise Hereditary, still descending to " the next Heir in Blood." And being governed by virtuous and learned Men, who are the only Persons of Quality and Power in *China*, " it excells in Practice the very Speculations " of European Wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, " the Commonwealth of *Plato*, the *Utopia*'s and " *Oceana*'s of our modern Writers.

51. THE Glory of *Rome*, whilst it was a Commonwealth, in the Judgment of *Salust*, who was every way qualified to judge rightly, was not to be ascrib'd to their Eloquence, in which the *Greeks*, nor to their military Glory, in which the *Gauls* excell'd them : But to the distinguishing Virtue of particular Persons, at the Head of their Government and Armies. Whose virtuous Poverty prevailed above Riches, and whose Temperance and Disinterestedness advanc'd a weak Estate into a mighty one. Neither did it arrive at the Height of Glory till it became a Monarchy. Nor were the *Romans* ever happier than under the Dominion of *Augustus*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and the two *Antonine*'s, who were Absolute Monarchs, *Alexander Severus* found them indeed too wicked to be reformed, and they murdered their good Emperor for endeavouring it. On the other Hand, did *Rome* suffer more under the worst of its Emperors, than it suffered whilst a Commonwealth under insolent Patricians, and ambitious Plebeians ?

Plebeians? Who proscribed and murdered the Persons, and confiscated the Estates of their Fellow-Citizens and Equals, and many of them their Superiors? What Miseries did the *Romans* undergo when the Faction of the Nobility prevailed under bloody *Sylla*? What from, the Commons under *Marius*? a Fellow of no Birth, audacious, enterprizing, cunning, intriguing, powerful in Rapine and Devastations, who obtain'd the Consulate by a recommendatory Letter cross the Water, and by falsely accusing his General, the brave *Metellus*. To give modern Instances of *this kind*, would be an invidious Undertaking, I leave it to them that delight in Satyr. But I cannot omit some Instances of *another kind*, who being Foreign Princes, regardless of what we say or write of them, I cannot be accused of Flattery, in doing Justice to their transcendant Virtues.

52. THE *Czar* of *Muscovy* bids fairest of any in the last or present Age for the Character of a Hero, since the chaste, the religious, the brave unconquerable, whom Success forsook, but never Virtue, the ever lamented *Charles the XIIth of Sweden*, the Terror of Luxury, Avarice, Injustice, and all manner of Vice; whose sole Virtue guarded him with Authority, and render'd him awful among the *Turks*, whilst he was their Prisoner; who effectually restored the Protestant Churches in *Silesia*, and had no Equal in military Glory; was alas! not suffered to shew how he excell'd in the Arts of Peace. The *Czar* is an Absolute Monarch; his Will is the only Law in that vast Empire. And has he not without Counsel, without Learning, by the mere Force of his own great Genius, and by

exposing his Royal Person to Dangers and Hardships not usually undergone by Men of a much inferior Rank, has he not civiliz'd a stupid and barbarous Nation, even against their Wills? Has he not extended their Trade thro' vast uninhabited Desarts? and which is more, Christianity with it, so much and so shamefully neglected by others who profess the greatest Zeal for Religion, but whose Godliness, if we may judge by their Actions, is no more than what conduces to their Gain, and their Riches their Idol? Has he not, without Assistance, and even against Opposition, rendred his People as famous for Arts and Arms, as they were before contemptible? and all this in little more than twenty Years, so as to become formidable to *Europe*, to *Christendom*, and *Turky*? What Constitution in the World ever did, or ever can do any thing like this?

53. WE have another Instance, which tho' in some Particulars it may not appear so great, is indeed truly admirable in the present King of *Spain*, who found that Monarchy, which once made the greatest Figure in *Europe*, reduc'd to a low and contemptible Condition, by the ill Management of evil Ministers, under weak Princes. The Treasures of the Indies were a Boast, but of no real Service to the *Spanish* Nation. Their Enemies reap'd the Profit, and had thereby the Power to be Arbitors of those very *Indies*, and all the rest of the *Spanish* Territories. Till the Genius of the present King reviv'd the Genius of the People; put their Finances in order, extricated them out of their Debts and Poverty, and mean Dependance on other Potentates. And this when he had a Rival and powerful

powerful Faction to contend with. But his Constancy, Prudence, and Clemency surmounted all Difficulties. So that *Spain* in a very few Years became so formidable, as not to be brought to terms by less than the united Powers of *England*, *France*, and *Germany*.

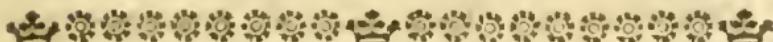
54. HAVING shewn what great things good Men may do in any Form of Government, even that which is supposed the worst, let us see what the best Constitution now extant wou'd signify, if it should happen hereafter to fall into wicked Hands. *Cato* has expressed himself so fully in praise of the Laws and Constitution of his Country, that his Esteem for it is out of Question. And no Body can deny that the People of this Island have liv'd very happily under it, tho' not always sensible of their Happiness. But suppose a time should come in future Ages, when the present Generation are pass'd off the Stage, and that some Stranger to the *British* Laws and Manners, and even to their Language, should get into the Throne. Suppose, as is probable in such a Case, he should consider his Interest and theirs as *opposite*, or *different* at least, and treat them accordingly, as Beasts of Burden. Imagine he takes a Freak to keep his Court at *Jersey*, or *Guernsey*, as *Tiberius* did at *Caprea*, transporting all the Wealth of the Nation thither to squander, or hoard it. Suppose him stupid and luxurious, covetous and rapacious, and wholly in the Hands of wicked Ministers, who may abuse the Nation as they please, provided they take care to gratify his Vices. To support himself and them, let us suppose he keeps a standing Army of profligate Natives, or greedy Fo-  
G 2  
reigners.

reigners. And least this should not be sufficient to bind the Chains upon a free People, Confederates with other Potentates, antient and irreconcilable Enemies to the Welfare of *Britain*, to pour in their Troops, not to secure the Kingdom from Invasion, but to *invade* it ; not to *defend* his Subjects, but to *subdue* them. And adding Scorn to Cruelty, to fasten their Yoke of Servitude with their own Hands, and beyond all Hopes of redress, let us suppose, for being now in the Region of Imagination we may fancy what we please ; let us suppose he buys with the Publick Money a Parliament like himself, with our Conscience, Honour, or common Sense. Betrayers of their Country, who that they may share its Spoils so long as he thinks fit, that is till the rest being gone, he comes to squeeze his Sponges, become the servile Instruments of his Tyranny. Gratifying all his exorbitant Demands of Money, applauding his unreasonable and foolish Actions, and giving the Sunction of Law to the most outragious Cruelties and Oppression.

55. LET *Cato* tell me what the Constitution would signify in so deplorable a Case ; when the Remedy was become the worst Disease ; the Bulwark of Liberty turn'd into a Battery against it ? I do not refer the Reader to Mr. *Sydney*, and *Sam. Johnson*, B. *Hoadley's* *Measures*, or B. *Burnet's*, and other Writers at the Revolution ; or to Mr. *Lock's* two *Treatises of Government*, where what he says of the Forfeiture of the Legislature, B. 2d. Chap. 11 and 12. is very remarkable : These are none of my Apostles, I wou'd only be glad to know what in *Cato's* Opinion the miserable People could

could do to relieve themselves? Cowards would complain and bluster if they durst, or swallow the Crust, if offered them, and cease to bark. The Indolent and irresolute would give up the Cause as desperate, and thereby make it so. Their Safety, (to use Salust's Words) would be their Shame, whilst they deserved to be reputed infamous and execrable, by preferring in so fatal a Conjunction, a Life without Honour, to a good Reputation. But the brave noble Spirit would be animated by the Difficulty, and quickened by the Danger. He would not think any Risque too great to rescue his Country, which is indeed the most generous way of serving himself, since he must perish in its Ruins. The longer the Chain is worn, the less it is felt, and the Strength that should break it is more exhausted. In Cases of Extremity, the boldest Counsel is the best. And if Liberty be more than a Sound, *Cato* its like, would think a Britton should choose to **LIVE A FREEMAN, OR DIE ONE.**

*Nullus servitus turpior quam voluntaria.  
— Quis enim invitum servore laboret?*



*Advertisement.*

*N. B.* You may hear further from *Poplicola*, as Occasion and Inclination offer.



## THE APPENDIX.

*There is a noble Speech of Memmius for Liberty in Salust's Jugurtha, which since Cato has not given to the Publick, I will. See Salust in Bel. Jugurth. Edit. Oxon. p. 94. Multa me dehortantur a vobis, &c.*

### No. I.

“ **M**ANY things, O ye Romans, wou'd restrain  
“ me from declaring for your Interests,  
“ did not the Love of my Country prevail over  
“ all other Considerations: Busy Faction, your  
“ Patience, want of Justice, and what is most ter-  
“ rible, the Danger instead of Honour that Inno-  
“ cence attracts. 'Tis hard to say how many In-  
“ juries you have of late Years received from the  
“ pride of some particular Persons, your De-  
“ fenders have basely fallen by their Hands, and  
“ no Vengeance follows. You are lost in Sloth,  
“ and buried in a Lithargy, without making  
“ an Effort to defend your selves against those  
“ you

“ you might easily overcome ; afraid of Enemies, to whom you should be redoubtable. “ Yet for all this, I will not cease to oppose a powerful Faction ; nor to use the Liberty my Ancestors left me. Whether to any purpose or no, depends O ye *Romans* upon the Assistance you give me. Not that I exhort you to arm against Injuries as your Fathers have often done. Neither Force nor Sedition are at present requisite. Cease only to support the Proud, and their own Crimes will drive them down the Precipice. They slew *Tiberius Gracchus*, under Pretence that he aim'd at being King. Treating the *Roman* People with utmost Rigour, whipping some and torturing others, and after they had murdered *Caius Gracchus*, and *M. Fulvius*, the rest were dispatch'd in Prison. Blood did not satisfy, nor Laws restrain their Cruelty, till the Caprice of Arbitrary Power put a stop to it. But let it be that an Endeavour to restore your Rights were an ambitious Desire of reigning ; allowing that if this could not be prevented but by the Sacrifice of Fellow-Citizens, the Sacrifice was just. You cannot sure forget the late squandering away the Publick Treasure, and the Indignation it raised in every honest Heart ; you cannot suffer that the Tribute of Kings, and the Taxes of the People should be divided among a few Great Men ; nor that the prodigious Wealth they have acquir'd by Robbery, should raise them to the highest Honour, or entitle them to the Reputation that is only due to Virtue ? But these are not the only Crimes they commit “ with

“ with Impunity ; they rest not here, but push  
“ on to the highest Degree of Wickedness, by  
“ surrendring your Laws, the Majesty of the  
“ Government, and every thing that is divine  
“ and humane into the Hands of your Ene-  
“ mies, and this without Shame or Penitence ;  
“ appearing before you with Confidence and in  
“ State, as if their Pontifical and Consular Digni-  
“ ties, and the very Triumphs they display  
“ before your Eyes, were but the Recompence  
“ of their Merits, and not indeed their Prey.  
“ The very Slaves you purchase will not en-  
“ dure Tyranny ; and shall you O *Romans*, born  
“ to Empire, submit to Slavery ? But who are  
“ they that trample on the Commonwealth ?  
“ the most villainous Profligates ! Monsters of  
“ Cruelty ! Gulps of Avarice ! at once full of  
“ Pride and Infamy ! who barter away their  
“ Faith, their Honour, their Religion, and  
“ traffic even with Virtue and Vice. Some have  
“ slain your Tribunes, others pursued you with  
“ false Informations, most of them are stain'd  
“ with your Blood, so that their Crimes are  
“ become their Bulwark ; and he that is the  
“ greatest Criminal, is for this Reason the most  
“ secure. Thro' your Weaknes, they imprint  
“ that Terror in *you*, which is *their* due. They  
“ are united in the same Desires, the same  
“ Hatred, the same Fears, but what is Friend-  
“ ship among good Men, is only Faction a-  
“ mong the Wicked. Were your Ardor for  
“ Liberty but as great as theirs to wrest it from  
“ you, we should not at this time see the  
“ Commonwealth expos'd to Pillage, but its  
“ Preferments would be the Recompence of  
“ the best, and no longer the Booty of the  
“ most

“ most audacious. Twice your Ancestors retired  
“ to Mount *Aventine*, with their Arms in their  
“ Hands in Defence of their Dignity and Pri-  
“ vileges: And are you so tame as to do no-  
“ thing in Defence of the Liberty they trans-  
“ mitted to you? Should not you defend it  
“ with greater Vehemence, insomuch as it is  
“ more shameful to lose what we once pos-  
“ sessed, than never to have enjoyed it? You'll  
“ say perhaps, What can we do? *Punish the Tray-*  
“ *tors*. Not that I advise you to lay your  
“ own Hands upon them, (not but that they  
“ deserve it, but because it is beneath you)  
“ Clear up the Truth, *Jugurth* will discover it,  
“ if he is as sincere as he pretends to be, and  
“ obedient to your Orders. If he disobeys,  
“ you'll thereby find how far you may depend  
“ on his Submissions and Offers of Peace, since  
“ they signify nothing but to gain Impunity  
“ to his Crimes; to enrich a few powerful  
“ Great Ones, and brings Loss and Dishonour  
“ upon the Commonwealth. But are you not  
“ yet weary of the Yoke? Are you so well  
“ pleas'd as to oppose a Change, tho' King-  
“ doms, Provinces, Laws, Justice, Equity, War  
“ and Peace, every thing almost, whether fa-  
“ cred or civil, rests at the Disposal of a few  
“ Tyrants? Whilst the *Roman People* always  
“ invincible, Conquerors of the World, are  
“ poorly cow'd, and have not Spirit enough to  
“ refuse the Fetters that are impos'd upon  
“ them. But tho' it seems to me flagitious in  
“ you, to let Men injure you with Impunity,  
“ I woud not persuade you against pardoning  
“ the vilest of Men, since they are your Fel-  
“ low-Citizens, provided this Clemency may

“ not prove fatal to you. The Love of Wick-  
“ edness is so rooted in them, that not content  
“ with Impunity for the past, their Licentious-  
“ ness will drive them to greater Mischiefs. So  
“ that falling under their Displeasure, unless  
“ you take from them the Power to hurt, you’ll  
“ find when it is too late, that you must either  
“ patiently submit to Slavery, or commence a  
“ Civil War to maintain your Liberty: For  
“ what Faith or Concord can be expected from  
“ them? You desire to be free, and they to  
“ become your Masters. They delight in abu-  
“ sing you, and you cannot bear it; they treat  
“ your Allies as Enemies, and your Enemies as  
“ if they were their Allies. How it is possible  
“ to live in Peace and Friendship with such con-  
“ trary Sentiments? Let me advise you there-  
“ fore, let me conjure you not to suffer their  
“ Crimes to go unpunished. The Question  
“ is not barely about embezzling the Publick  
“ Money, Bribery and Oppression; these are  
“ grievous Crimes without Dispute, tho’ Cu-  
“ stom has rendered them light ones. But  
“ the very Constitution is in Danger; the Au-  
“ thority of the Senate prostituted to a barba-  
“ rous Enemy, the Majesty of the Empire be-  
“ trayed, and the Commonwealth it self set to  
“ sale, both in *Rome* and in the Army. So that  
“ unless you search the Matter to the bottom,  
“ and chastise the Guilty, nothing remains but  
“ to live obedient Slaves to those who have had  
“ the Insolence to make us so. For what is  
“ Reigning, unless it be the doing what we  
“ please with Impunity? Not that I exhort  
“ you *Romans* to punish wicked Citizens for the  
“ Pleasure of Revenge; but I would have you  
“ take

“ take care, least by sparing the Wicked you  
“ destroy the Good. It being less dangerous  
“ to the State to forget Merit than to forget  
“ Crimes. Virtue neglected grows remiss, but  
“ Villany unpunished, increases in Wickedness.  
“ And when we are by seasonable Punishments  
“ secured from new Attempts, then, but not  
“ till then, we shall not need to depend on Auxi-  
“ liaries.

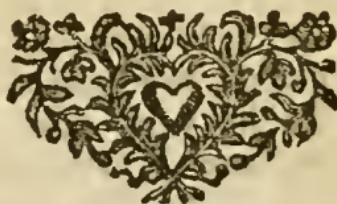
*The SPEECH of Tiberius Gracchus.*  
*See Plutarch in his Life.*

No. II.

“ **A** TRIBUNE of the People is sa-  
“ cred indeed, and ought to be inviola-  
“ ble, as being in a Manner consecrated to be  
“ their Guardian and Protector. But if he so  
“ far degenerates, as to oppress the People, re-  
“ trench their Privileges, and take away the  
“ Freedom of their Votes, he deprives himself  
“ of that honourable Station, by neglecting  
“ his Duty for the sake of which he enjoys  
“ it: Otherwise a Tribune might pass with  
“ Impunity, tho' he should demolish the Ca-  
“ pitol, and burn the Navy. But if he that  
“ were guilty of such Extravagancies, cou'd  
“ not be look'd upon as a good Tribune, much  
“ less can he be so, who dares presume to  
“ take away the People's Privileges, for by so  
“ doing he ceases to be their Representative.  
“ Both Tribunes and Consuls are elected by  
“ the Voices of the People; and since the  
“ Tribune has Power to imprison a Consul,  
“ which were unreasonable if the People might

“ not degrade him ; have they not the same  
“ Power over their *Tribune* when he uses the  
“ Authority they gave him, to the Giver’s  
“ Detriment ?

“ M O N A R C H Y comprehends all sorts  
“ of Authority in it self alone, is confirmed  
“ by the greatest and most religious Solem-  
“ nity, and is a Government most resembling  
“ that of Heaven. But notwithstanding this,  
“ the *Romans* opposed their King for tyran-  
“ nical Oppression, and abolished for the Of-  
“ fence of one Man their antient Government.  
“ What more sacred than the Vestal Virgins ?  
“ yet we bury them alive when they have lost  
“ their Reputation. They lose our Veneration  
“ by offending against the Diety, for whose  
“ sake we paid it ; and the Tribunes become  
“ contemptible by offending against that Au-  
“ thority from whence their own is derived.  
“ And since it is being elected by Majority  
“ of Votes that makes a Man legally a Tri-  
“ bune, is he not much more lawfully degraded,  
“ when it is done by the Consent and Desire  
“ of All ?



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*An Account of the SHIPS Sunk  
and Taken in the Expedition to  
VIGO, under the Duke of  
ORMONDE, in 1702. As  
it is in Dr. Harris's Collection of  
Voyages, Vol. 2. Appendix, p. 27,  
28.*

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French Ships in the Harbour.

<i>Ships Names.</i>	<i>Number of Guns,</i>
1 L'E Fort,	76 Burnt.
2 Le Prompt,	75 } Taken and carried home.
3 L'Assure,	66 } Taken by the Dutcb.
4 L'Esperance,	70 Taken, but bilg'd and sunk.
5 Le Bourbon,	63 Taken by the Dutcb.
6 La Sirenn,	60 Taken, but run ashore and bilg'd.
7 Le Solide,	56 Burnt.
8 Le Firme,	72 Taken and carried home.
9 Le Prudent,	62 Burnt.
10 Le Modere,	56 Taken and carried home.
11 Le Superbe,	70 Taken, but run ashore and bilg'd.
12 La Dauphine,	46 Burnt.
13 Le Volontaire,	46 Taken, but run ashore and bilg'd.
14 Le Triton,	42 Taken and carried home.
15 L'Enflame	64 Burnt.

Frigats       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ L' Entreprenant, 22 Guns} \\ 2 \text{ L' Choquante 8 Guns} \\ \text{Le Forcis Fireship} \end{array} \right\}$  Burnt.  
 Seventeen Galleons ; four a float, two ashore taken ;  
 and five taken by the Dutch, the rest burnt.

## Spanish Men of War and Galleons.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1 Jesus Maria Joseph	70
2 La Buffoona	54
3 La Capitana	54
	<hr/>
	178

Thirteen Galleons, with from twenty to upwards of thirty Guns each ; and all burnt and sunk except five Galleons which we took.

" The Consequence of this Victory was a vast Booty  
 " both of Plate and other things ; the Value of which  
 " can never be computed. But tho' the Duke of  
 " ORMONDE possessed himself of Rodondello, and  
 " would have attack'd Vigo, and winter'd there, yet the  
 " Circumstances of things would not allow of it, so that  
 " both the Land Forces and Fleet returned for England,  
 " where they happily arrived.



Some Account of the glorious Victory obtained by Admiral Byng over the Spanish Fleet upon the Coast of Sicily, 1718. from the London Gazette.

See Gazette  
of June 7.  
1718.

July 19.  
(See also Gaz.  
of Sept. 27,  
extracted  
from Adm.  
Byng's  
Letter.)

July 12.  
Aug. 9.

July 26.

Sept. 27.

Sept. 2.

ADMIRAL Byng sail'd with the Fleet under his Command from St. Helen's, June, 3-14, 1718.

June 10-29. The Officer sent by the British Admiral to Coll. Stanhope at Madrid, arrived there.

July 7-18. The Convention between Great. Britain and France was signed at Paris.

July 18-29. Notified by Collonel Stanhope to the Court of Madrid.

July 22-Aug. 2. The Treaty of Alliance between Great-Britain, the Emperor, and France, signed at London nine Days before the Naval Fight.

July 29-Aug. 9. The Admiral acquaints the Marquis de Lede's Messenger in Answer to his Master's Enquiry, that he came only as a Friend and Mediator of Peace; and allows him eight Days to send to his Court and receive Orders from thence.

July 30-Aug. 10. The Admiral stands thro' the Faro in Search of the

the Spanish Fleet, upon whose Approach they went from him large. He orders the best Sailors to make what sail they could to come up with them. They tow'd their heavy Sailors all Night; and stood in for the Shore. The English making what sail they could, held on the Chase after the Spanish Admiral.

SHIPS Taken and Burnt.

September 2.		Fourteen Ships of War escaped, besides one Ves- sel and 7 Gallys; but one of them of about 30 or 40 Guns was taken afterwards.
Ships.	Guns.	
1 S T. Philip the Royal	74	
2 Prince of Asturias	70	
3 Royal	60	
4 St. Charles	60	
5 St. Isabella	60	
6 Santa Rosa	60	
7 St. Isidore	46	
8 Volante	44	
9 Surprize	44	
10 Juno	36	
11 Tyger	26	
12 Eagle	24	
13 Bomb Vessel.		
	604	
A Ship laden with Arms, and Three with Provisions.		
1 Pearl	50	Taken
2 Hermione	44	
3 Esperance	46	
	140	
Two Fire Ships Two Bomb Vessels One Sattee		Burnt.

Gaz. Aug. 23. Earl Stanhope arrives at Madrid Aug. 1-12. the Day after this glorious Victory.

An

*An Extract from the Gazettes  
of Octob: 24: and Novem.  
10. 1719, of the glorious  
Success of the Expedition  
under the Lord Viscount  
Cobham.*

HIS Lordship lands with the Forces at *Vigo* Sept. 29. marches towards the Town, Octob. 1. The Enemy is afraid, and nail their own Cannon, and retire into the Citadel; the large Mortars, the *Cochorn Mortars*, and the battering Cannon are landed. The Fort of *St. Sebastian* is taken, being abandon'd by the Enemy. A Battery is rais'd, the Governour is summon'd, who is wounded and gone, but the Lieutenant Collonel who commanded in his Absence surrenders upon Articles. Three hundred were kill'd and wounded by our Bombs, with the Loss but of 2 Officers, and 3 or 4 Men. An exact Account was not taken of the Stores of War which were found; but when that Account is perfected it will be found very considerable. Sixty Pieces of large Iron Cannon the Enemy spoil'd; 15 fine Brass Guns, and 2 large Mortars, besides 2000 Barrels of Powder, and above 8000 Muskets, with 2 Brass Cannon of 42 Pound Ball, four 24 Pounders, and 7 others, with 3 Brass Mortars, taken at *Ponte Vedra*, and other Stores of Arms and Ammunition, were put on Board the Transports, and brought here safely with the Fleet, who, before they left

Spain, burnt 7 Ships that were fitting up for Privateers in the Harbour of *Vigo*, destroy'd the Arsenal at *Ponte Vedra*, in which were Barracks for 2000 Men; also 5000 small Arms, near 300 Barrels of Powder; and abundance of other Stores that were burnt, and Fort *Marine* blown up. Eighty six Iron Cannon, nail'd and spoil'd, and their Carriages burnt, and the great Cistern in the Castle of *Vigo* blown up; and then the Forces embark'd.

## F I N I S.

## E R R A T A.

P Ag. 2. l. 24. make a Period after *them*. p. 16. l. 2. after *justly* Period. p. 16. l. 24. dele *the Memory of* *that and some other*. P. 26. l. 4. r. *their God*. P. 29. l. 22. dele *the*. P. 31. l. 3. r. *so to a Christian to die*. l. pen. made a ; after *remov'de*.







